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 Subject: The Present Political Situation in Czechoslovakia  
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1. The Establishment and Composition of the Czechoslovak Government. The present Government, the third since the liberation of Czechoslovakia, was formed on 2 July 1946 by Deputy Klement Gottwald, following the election on 26 May 1946 of the deputies to the Constituent National Assembly and the election of Benes to the Presidency of the Republic. Representation in this Government is proportional to the number of votes obtained by each party in the elections, which were based on universal suffrage and secret ballot. It is a Government of the National Front of Czechs and Slovaks and is pledged to execute the program of the National Front in the spirit of the governmental program of Kosice. (Washington comment: Kosice was the seat of the government before the liberation of Prague.)

Election Returns in Number of Deputies per Party with Corresponding Percentages

<u>Bohemia and Moravia - Parties</u>	<u>No. of Deputies</u>	<u>Percentages</u>
Czech Communist Party	93	38% (Czech and Slovak)
National Socialist Party	55	18%
People's Party	46	16%
Social Democrat Party	37	12%
<u>Slovakia - Parties</u>		
Slovak Democrat Party	43	14%
Slovak Communist Party	21	see above
Liberty Party	3	1.5%
Labor Party	2	1%

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**SECRET**Composition of the Government

President of the Council:		Klement Gottwald	(Communist)
Vice Presidents:	Deputy	Petr Zenkl	(National Socialist)
	"	Mgr. Jan Sramek	(People's Party)
	"	Jan Ursiny	(Democrat)
	"	Zdenek Fierlinger	(Social Democrat)
	"	Viliam Siroky	(Communist)

Ministers:

Foreign Affairs:		Jan Masaryk	(Non-Party)
National Defense:		Gen. Ludvik Svoboda	(Non-Party)
Foreign Commerce:	Deputy	Rubert Ripka	(National Socialist)
Interior:	"	Vaclav Nosek	(Communist)
Finance:	"	Jaromir Dolansky	(Communist)
National Education:	"	Yaroslav Stransky	(National Socialist)
Justice:	"	Prekop Drtina	(National Socialist)
Information:	"	Vaclav Kopecky	(Communist)
Industry:	"	Bohumil Lausman	(Social Democrat)
Agriculture:	"	Julius Duris	(Slovak Communist)
Domestic Commerce:	"	Antonin Zmrhal	(Communist)
Communications:	"	Ivan Piator	(Democrat)
Posts:	"	Frantisek Hala	(People's Party)
Public Health:	"	Adolf Prochaska	(People's Party)
Supply:	"	Vaclav Majer	(Social Democrat)
Labor:	"	Zdenek Nejedly	(Communist)
Technical Affairs:	Engineer	fm Kopecky	(People's Party)
Unification:	Deputy	Mikulas Franek	(Democrat)

Secretaries of State:

Foreign Affairs:		Vladimir Clementis	(Communist)
National Defense:	Deputy	Jan Lichner	(Democrat)

In summary, there is a Vice President for each Party; the Chief of Government is a Communist; there are six Communist ministers; three National Socialist ministers; three People's Party ministers; two Social Democrat ministers; two Slovak Democrat ministers; and two non-party ministers. The latter two are sympathisers of the Social Democrat Party.

2. The Tasks Confronting this Government. The principal tasks are to provide the country with a new constitution and to assure the reconstruction of the industries and resources damaged by the war. The question of Slovakia represents one of the difficult problems before the Government. The present Government states that the Republic is the National State of the Czechs and Slovaks and that only the Czech and Slovak peoples have the

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power to decide on public and state affairs. The governmental program of Kossice has been taken as a starting point for determining relationship between the Czechs and Slovaks. The new constitution must (a) recognize the individual national existence of the Slovaks represented at present by their own legislative and executive organisms (the Slovak National Council and Body of Deputies) and (b) assure the Slovak people equal rights with the Czech people "without however affecting the unity of the Republic". In Slovakia at the present time, there are Deputies who, while not bearing the designation, are for all practical purposes Ministers for Slovak affairs. Their administration, as well as their legislation, is different. A law voted in the Parliament at Prague is not applicable to Slovakia unless supported by a majority of the Slovak Deputies. The Slovak autonomy experienced during the occupation and their special conditions in supply and efforts in aid of the war, together with errors committed by the Czechs prior to the war, make the problem the most difficult which the Constituent Assembly has to face. The Czechs wish Slovakia to have a certain autonomy under a central government. The Slovaks favor a Federation of the two peoples, with two governments and one central unit to handle a limited number of matters. Enmity between the two peoples is quite marked: the Czechs consider the Slovaks backward, fanatical and pro-German while the Slovaks criticize the Czechs for lack of initiative and their tendency toward a bureaucracy which places the keys of the Administration in their hands. The fact that Slovakia is a country eminently Catholic where the clergy is powerful and the Communists are in a minority (conditions which do not exist in Bohemia-Moravia) has considerable influence on the problem. The second principal task of the Government will be the implementation of the two-year economic plan decreed by the law of 25 October 1946. The Plan has as its object the reconstruction of the resources destroyed or damaged, the subsidy of branches deficient before the war, in some cases to obtain a production equal to the pre-war situation and in other cases to surpass the pre-war production. The industrial production will surpass by 10% the pre-war total in spite of the expulsion of the Hungarians and the Germans. Agricultural production must reach the pre-war level by the end of 1948. The Plan promotes the industrialization of Slovakia and to this end the machinery and equipment brought from Germany have been sent to Slovakia. Everybody, regardless of party or ideology, is ready to further this plan, and in Czechoslovakia much work is now being done. A forty-eight hour week is observed both in offices and in factories. The women also have an important part in the work of reconstruction.

3. The New Constitution. The new Constitution will assure equal rights for women, freedom of man and citizen, freedom of conscience, of press, of speech, of assembly, of scientific research, the right to work, the right to a just compensation for work performed, the right to training, to retirement and rights in the event of incapacitation for work. The

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new Constitution must guarantee that the power rests ultimately in the people; it will take as a starting point the results of the struggle against the occupation forces, always keeping in mind democratic principles. Direct universal suffrage, equality for all, and secret ballot, with proportional representation in all the representative bodies will be assured by the Constitution. It will eliminate the bureaucratic character of the Administration, and a system of national, regional and local committees will accomplish a decentralization and modernization of the administrative machinery. These national committees set up in all the towns with representation of the different parties will be charged with the handling of matters designated to them. The Constitution will set forth in its articles the principles included in the decrees for the nationalization of banking interests, mines, natural resources, sources of power, foundries, heavy industry and key industries. The Constitution must destroy the hopes of those who want the economy now nationalized to return to the hands of the capitalists. The small and medium enterprises will be protected and security will be given for the honest acquisition of physical and moral wealth by all.

4. Political Parties. There are four Czech and four Slovak parties.

Czech Parties:

- a. Communist Party. This Party was formed in the year 1920 as a group which separated from the Social Democrat Party due to differences among the members favoring reform and those favoring a revolutionary policy. By 1925, it had considerable importance. This influence then declined until the advent of the Munich Pact (which it firmly opposed) after which it was declared illegal. Many of its leaders had to emigrate to the USSR, France and England. Before the war, it was the only truly Czechoslovak party insofar as a single organization for the entire country is concerned. The other parties were either Czech or Slovak parties with the exception of one which was a German party. The Communist Party was active in the Resistance and Liberation Movements, especially in the Revolution of May 1945 in Prague, which at the moment of the liberation gave the Party the principal keys of syndicalist-political power. The Communist Party has not directly attacked the Church and, during the elections, its speakers affirmed that they were not opposed to religious principles and some of them stated that they were Catholics. In spite of the Communist control which existed and still exists in Czechoslovakia, no images or churches have been destroyed, nor has any person been molested for his religious beliefs. Even the Red Army made no attacks against the Church and reports are that some of the soldiers attended the religious services. The most contradictory of reports have been made concerning the Red Army. While in a town such as Pabloveice (Moravia), [ ] a wine cellar in which a wall had been constructed to form a room in which to house all the women

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of the vicinity due to fear of the excesses of the Red Army, other reports are heard that the conduct of the Red Army was gentlemanly, considering the circumstances. The Communist Party controls the police, part of the Army, the Syndicates, and has bound the other parties to form the National Front (directed by the Communists) in accordance with the governmental program of Koice. To date they have made no campaign to deprive the clergy of their customary payments by the State, although it appears that, in past weeks, a change of policy is evolving with attacks on religion in matters of education. The principal leaders of this Party are:

Klement Gottwald, Party head and Chief of the Government. He is considered a very intelligent person and is their principal figure of propaganda. He is fifty years of age and is very active politically.

Vaclav Kopecky, Minister of Information. He directs the Ministry with a partisan policy, both in publications and especially in radio. The other parties are asking freedom and equality in radio. The popular saying is "that the Ministry of Information gives the least reliable information". Kopecky is reputed to be a fanatical Communist and reports are that he immediately informs the Party of every matter and interview. Hatred of the non-Communists is condensed in him. He is bald and about fifty years of age.

Vaclav Nosek, Deputy and Minister of Interior.

Zdenek Nejedly, former Minister of National Education and now Minister of Labor. He has filled the cities and towns with posters exalting labor.

Antonin Zapotocky, President of the Central Council of the revolutionary Syndicates (U.R.O., sole syndicate of workers and laborers which had replaced the many former syndicates. It is controlled by the Communists.) His photograph appears in numerous buildings and stores.

Jaromir Dolansky, Party leader in Parliament.

Antonin Zmrhal, President of the Central Union of Cooperatives.

R. Reiman, former Secretary General of the Central Association of Industries.

Aneska Hodinova-Spurna, the first woman Deputy of the Party.

To the above could be added the names of Viliam Siroky, Vice President of the Government, and Vladimir Clementis, Secretary of State for

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Foreign Affairs (Slovaks). The advance of Communism in Czechoslovakia may be considered to be due to the following reasons: the Munich Pact and the resultant loss of confidence in the Western Powers; the effective participation of the Communists in the Resistance and Liberation; the pro-Russian current because of the liberation of the country by the Soviet Army; the influence of that Army; the proximity to and a certain fear of the USSR; the schools of thought favoring dictatorial tendencies which eliminate personal responsibility and produce automatic action; the greater dynamism of the Communists; and especially the existence of a large opportunist group which since the end of the war considers Communism the means to rise and attain personal objectives. It seems that before the war there was a considerable number of Communist-sympathising intellectuals who prepared the way. As the other parties become more active, the Communists are losing ground. According to adherents of the other parties, in the next elections which normally will take place in May 1948, the Communists will lose votes, although the adherents of the Communists believe that they will surpass the 38% of votes which they now have and will reach 51% which would put them in control of the Government. The Communist Party has a wide majority in Bohemia, especially in Prague, a veritable branch of Moscow. In Moravia, Catholic country, traditional, and with a certain sentiment for autonomy, it is the People's Party which is gaining and has the majority of sympathisers. The Communist press has the greatest circulation, takes advantage of all occasions to take issue with the United States and Great Britain and consistently praises Russia. In all of its manifestations, the Red flag is profusely evident. The Czech people is eminently a nationalist one, and in this sense, the Communist Party is known as the "super-nationalist" Party. [redacted] this patriotic sentiment must be sincere, especially in those Communists who have visited Russia, who, in spite of praising that country, apparently are not in favor of the methods employed there. 25X1

- b. Social Democrat Party. Like the Communist Party, it is Marxist; however, its methods are different. The former favors revolution while the latter proposes evolution. Historically, the Social Democrat Party is the party which since its founding in 1878 has worked for independence. Masaryk belonged to it. During the European war, it was abolished by the Austrians. After the war of 1914-18, the Party participated in numerous coalition governments, as anti-communist and anti-soviet. Thereafter its importance diminished. Its leaders were Dr. Kramar and Vlastimil Tusar. Following the disaster of Munich, the so-called reactionary elements were eliminated and the Party, with a progressive program, took active part in the Resistance and Liberation Movements. Its anti-

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soviet attitude has been abandoned completely so that it is considered a Communist dependency; it aligns itself with the Communist Party in all discussions and problems. It appears, however, that the anti-communist psychology persists among members of a certain age. At present, it is beginning to separate itself from the tutelage of the Communist Party and to direct a strong campaign against the Communist Party, a campaign in which the truth is conspicuous by its absence. It calumniates the Communists, whenever possible, for the purpose of alienating the working masses. The principal leaders of the Social Democrat Party are:

Zdenek Fierlinger, a career diplomat, who has never taken an anti-communist or anti-soviet position. He was the Chief of Government of the first two governments after the Liberation.

Bohusil Lausman, Minister of Industry.

Vaclav Majer, former Minister of Agriculture, at present Minister of Supply.

Vaclav Patsak, Deputy attached to the Ministry of Information.

Jiri Hajek, President of the Union of Czech Youth.

The official organ of the Party is "Pravo Lidu", published in Prague. After Fierlinger's trip to London, it appears that the moderation brought back by him has been communicated to all. This Party has no counterpart in Slovakia.

- c. Czechoslovak National Socialist Party. This Party was founded in 1907 by J.F. Klepac, among the Czech bourgeoisie. In spite of its Czechoslovak name, it is a Czech party only. It is not Marxist, its socialism being a matter of solidarity between the various peoples of the Republic and the different social classes. It is at present the Rightist party, the reaction against the Communists. The two Parties attack each other fiercely. This Party comprises some of the working masses, especially the small factory people and specialized labor, and believes in the reform of the capitalist system. Its tendency resembles that of the French Radical Party. Although this Party did not figure as such in the Resistance, many of its leaders and members participated as individuals. It is also called "Benes' Party", although Benes at present is a non-party man. The principal leaders of the Party are:

Joska David, Minister and President of Parliament.

Hubert Ripka, Minister of Foreign Commerce, one of the members of the Government enjoying greatest prestige. He is considered very competent in his field.

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Prokop Drtina, Minister of Justice.

Petr Zenkl, Vice President of the Government. He is President of the Party and formerly was mayor of Prague.

The official organ of the Party is "Svobodne Slovo", published in Prague.

- d. Czechoslovak People's Party. This is a Christian Democrat party, the majority of its leaders and members being of Catholic belief. It has always remained faithful to the Republic even in the most trying days, and had twenty-two deputies in the last Parliament of the first Republic. Many of its members were active in the Resistance and Liberation Movements and its leader Mgr. Jan Sramek was the chief of the first Czech government in London. Many of its members spent time in the Nazi concentration camps. This Party is of a somewhat anti-socialist, although not anti-social, tendency. The disappearance of the National Democrat Party, because of its collaboration, resulted in its members joining the National Socialist Party and the People's Party. (The National Democrat Party was the party of the industrialists, bourgeoisie, professors, etc.) At present, the People's Party may be characterized as having two tendencies: (1) somewhat reactionary and directed by laymen who try to concede a minimum of social benefits and would like to govern the country according to procedures of the pre-war period. In this tendency groups of students participate actively, trying to oppose leftist extremism with a rightist extremism. And (2) the faction led by the priests, which is more advanced in social questions. It was proposed to Mgr. Sramek in London that he unite the National Democrat Party and the People's Party but he refused, apparently because of a fear that the new Party would depart from the principles of the Christian Democrat Party and assume a reactionary tendency.

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In the matter of Slovakia, the Party appears to be quite centralist and plans to extend the Party in that country, although not at present. The People's Party wishes to strengthen its ties with the foreign parties of identical ideology and especially with the M.R.P. It is the unanimous desire of all that the Party should sign immediately the Pact with France; they feel a special tie with Bidault because of his courageous attitude against the Munich Pact. In view of the fact that the Communist Party has ties with the other countries,



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that the Social Democrat Party maintains relations with the Labor Party, the People's Party favors an interchange with Christian Democrat parties, however without joining the Christian International, due to the lack of maturity of certain movements of that name, because of differences which still exist, and because of the reaction which such an action would provoke. They desire instead a practical collaboration for the moment. The Party contains no section of the working masses. It is weak in Bohemia, its focal point being in Moravia where Catholicism is strong. Its electors are the peasant masses. In the face of extremist innovations, the Party uses as a slogan the words of Masaryk "we wish to remain faithful to our tradition". The leaders believe that they will have a greater number of votes in the coming elections. Its principal figures are:

Mgr. Jan Sramek, Party leader and Vice President of the Government. He was chief of the first government in London. He is considered to be a person endowed with acute political foresight and with advanced social ideas. He is quite old and cannot do a great deal of work.

Mgr. Frantisek Mala, Minister of Posts. Active and popular with the older elements of the Party, nevertheless he has numerous enemies. He is known by the name "Red Priest". He has on numerous occasions associated with the Communist band. In the question of nationalization of banking interests, for example, he voted affirmatively in opposition to the Ministers of his Party. It appears that he is not on good terms with Adolf Prochaska. [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] He is about fifty years of age.

Adolf Prochaska, Professor, Minister of Health. He is the figure of greatest prestige in the Party and is the idol of the youth elements. He represents the advanced wing of the Party and appears to be a very competent and serious person. His wife used to take active part in politics and was a Deputy who was always supported by the students. After the last elections, she was expelled from the Party by Mgr. Sramek because she conducted a campaign excessively to the extreme right. The Party does not mention the incident, but the students make statements asking that she return.

Dr. Ivo Duchacek, Deputy, President of the Committee of Foreign Affairs of Parliament. He is the Party specialist on foreign problems. He escaped from his country and lived in France and England. He is acquainted with numerous international personalities and is decidedly anti-France. In the session of the UN in London, following the French delegation, he made a vigorous attack against France, proposing means for the reestablishment of democracy in Spain. [REDACTED] Duchacek wished to dispel the belief

that the France question was of interest only to the Communists. Duchacek is married to a French woman. He speaks French and English very well. He is thirty-one years of age.

Dr. Bohdan Chudoba, Deputy. In the last Congress, he was elected President of the People's Party Youth. He favors Moravian autonomy to a certain extent. [ ] he is probably not too advanced in social questions. Just as Duchacek is an idol of the youth insofar as foreign affairs are concerned, so Chudoba is their ideal in domestic questions. He believes that his correspondence abroad is intercepted by the Ministry of Information which is in Communist hands. He played an important part in the electoral campaign, strongly attacking Marxism. He spoke repeatedly in industrial centers. In contrast to the Communists who are vehement in their reactions, Chudoba thinks and speaks quietly. His specialty is in questions of the new Constitution. He has recently written three articles in the weekly "Obzory" (Horizons) directed by Ivo Duchacek, dealing with the Basque problem. He has one work about the Conde de Onate, ambassador from Phillip III, who exercised a long and fruitful influence in favor of the Czech people. He speaks English, French, Spanish and German. He took his doctor of Laws degree in Spain, through an interchange of fellowships between the Spanish and Czech governments. He worked for three months in the archives of Simancas. He is from Moravia, lives in Brno, and each week spends two or three days in Prague. He is about thirty-four years of age.

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Dr. Adolf Klimak, Secretary General of the Party. He is between fifty-five and sixty years of age.

Pavel Tigrid, director of the magazine "Vývoj" (Progress, Evolution). He is one of the intellectual chiefs of the Party. He is a good speaker. He is about forty years of age and wears a beard.

In another category we can cite the engineer Sigmund; Dr. Miroslav Horina, President of the Zabalka students; Deputy Emil Vojanec, Vice President of the Syndicates; Edward Bauer, Vice President of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Party; Jaromir Chalupsky of the Party Secretariat. The Party has its own student organization, included until recently in the National Union of Students and separated from it in order to avoid Communist control. But on the side of the orthodox students are those who, while remaining faithful to the Party, differ in certain matters, and therefore have established special clubs. The most important of these in Prague is the Klub Lidových Akademiku, whose leaders are Harry Pollar, about twenty-two years of age and speaks German, English and French well, and Miss Alena Hromasova, who is about twenty years of age and also speaks German, English and French well. The students

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take an active part in politics and many of them are politicians first and students second.

Slovak Parties:

- a. Slovak Communist Party. Before the war, there existed only one Communist Party for the entire Republic. In the year 1944, the Slovak Communist Party was formed, either in a realistic maneuver in view of the autonomous character of the country, or believing that the collaboration of almost all the country with the Germans would make it the only Party and it could be included in the USSR in the future. Disappointed with its small number of votes in the elections, this Party takes advantage of all occasions possible to point out its collaborationist and reactionary enemies. Recently its members branded as collaborationists several Deputies of the Democrat Party, hoping to have them dispossessed of their powers as Deputies. The leaders of the Party, which is only nominally Slovak since the two Communist Parties form a single bloc in Parliament, are:

Viliam Siroky, one of the five Vice Presidents of the Government.

Julius Duris, Minister of Agriculture.

Josef Soltesz, Vlado Clementis, Gustav Husak, and Laco Novomensky.

The official organ is "Pravda" (Truth), published in Bratislava.

- b. Slovak Democrat Party. This Party is directed by the Slovaks who, not of Marxist tendencies, participated in the Resistance and the Liberation. The majority of the members are Catholics, although there is also a number of protestant leaders who did not collaborate with the Germans (as did many Catholics). It is decidedly a national Slovak party. Its principal figures are:

Josef Lettrich, President of the Slovak National Council.

Jan Ursiny, Vice President of the Government.

Vavro Srobar, former Minister of Finance.

Ivan Pieter, Minister of Communications.

Jan Lichner, Secretary of State for National Defense.

Mikulas Franek, Minister of Unification.

- c. Slovak Labor Party. It was founded in January 1946, in an effort to alienate elements from the Communist Party. There was little time

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for propaganda and it obtained only two deputy seats. Its leaders are:

Ivan Derer, former Minister of Justice.

Caplovic and Becko, very active in the emigration in London.

Ivan Frlieka, an ex-Communist.

- d. Slovak Liberty Party. This Party was also founded in an effort to attract members from the Communist Party, but in the opposite sense, for it is a dependency of the Communist Party. Like the Slovak Labor Party, it has little importance and has only three deputies in Parliament.

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